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The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

MAR IGNATIOS ELIAS, whose portrait forms our frontispiece, is, of course, the Syrian-Orthodox, or Jacobite, Patriarch of Antioch. His Beatitude, who has been in Jerusalem for over a year, properly resides at Dar-es-Safran, near Maidin. In 1922 he approached the Archbishop of Canterbury with a view to establishing Economic Intercommunion with the Anglican Church, and satisfied the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee that no obstacle to the fulfilment of the conditions laid down by the Lambeth Conference of 1908 for such Economic Intercommunion existed. The persecution of the Syrians by the Turks has, however, hitherto precluded his bishops endorsing his declarations synodically, and the correspondence was suspended. The Jacobite Church is, of course, in full communion with the Coptic, the two Churches having regarded themselves as *the* Orthodox Catholic and Œcumenic Church since the Monophysite schism during which they separated from both Old and New Rome. The title "Mar" is Syriac for "lord"; the name Ignatios is assumed by all Jacobite Patriarchs of Antioch in memory of the famous father of that name who was Bishop of Antioch. Elias is his personal name. Mar Ignatios Elias creates no small impression on all Anglicans who come in contact with him by his scholarship, personal charm, and devotion.

Since our last "Chronicle and Causerie" in September, 1926, our movement has lost notable sympathizers by the death of Dr. Aurelio Palmieri and M. Pasitch. The former was Director of the Instituto Orientale of Rome, which must be distinguished carefully from that Instituto Orientale Papale that was set up by the late Pope and under the able direction of Bishop Michel d'Herbigny has served in recent years as something of a central command for vigorous Papal propaganda against the Orthodox. As such I had had the privilege of occasional personal contact with him since 1918, and of frequent correspondence. Extraordinary linguist and fine scholarly theologian that he was, his loss to *Europa Orientale*, that splendidly thorough monthly, which he founded and edited, will be severe. But, invaluable though his work on it has been, I have often ventured to regret

happenings which have led to the severance of the Metropolitan Evlogie of Paris from the Synod over which the Metropolitan Anthony presides at Sremsky-Karlowicz, must increase the trouble in the Russian Church both at home and abroad.

Bishop Benjamin of Sevastopol has left the Russian Academy in Paris and has undertaken a charge among the Russian exiles in Serbia.

That the sympathy of the readers of *The Christian East* must be on the side of the Metropolitan Peter and against the Synod goes without saying. For, if it is not the part of an Anglican to express an opinion as to the canonicity of the testamentary disposition of the Patriarch Tikhon, by which the Metropolitan Peter assumed as Locum-Tenens supreme authority in the Russian Church, that disposition was made because the Russian Church had been thrown into chaos by the Bolshevik persecution. Moreover, though the Cheka may no longer be shooting Orthodox bishops and clergy in batches, the Soviet has done all in its power to strengthen the Synod Party, and has continued to apply a pressure, which is in fact persecution, upon those who have directly taken up the perilous legacy bequeathed by the Patriarch Tikhon. Thus the Metropolitan Peter has been in durance since the Confessor's death, and the Metropolitan Sergius, who was nominated by the Patriarch to act in that foreseen event as acting Locum-Tenens, has now been sent to join him, his crime being announced as his refusal to excommunicate the Russian bishops in exile. In that matter, it should be noted by the American Protestants who have acclaimed the Synod as being progressive, that (1) according to Orthodox Canon Law it is an offence involving degradation for an Orthodox bishop to use his office for a political purpose, and (2) for that reason the Exiles' Synod at Sremsky-Karlowicz has always refused to allow the churches under their control to demonstrate in any way against the Bolshevik political régime. Incidentally, they may also note that the foreign Protestant ministers in Russia are reported to have been ordered to get out of that country by the very Soviet of the persecutions of which they have enterprised the defence. The arrest of the Metropolitan Sergius was speedily followed by the meting out of a like fate to three of his prearranged successors, the Metropolitan Joseph and the Archbishops Cornelius and Thaddeus. At the present time the responsibility of guiding the destinies of the Russian Church lies upon Seraphim, Archbishop of Uglitch, who up to the moment at least that these words are written has not been arrested by the Bolsheviks. He has issued to the clergy and their flocks a letter, the text of which is as follows:—

TO THE PRELATES, PRIESTS AND LAITY OF THE ORTHODOX RUSSIAN CHURCH.

By the will of God and the instructions of the Metropolitan Joseph, Deputy Guardian of the Patriarchal Throne, dated the 25th November, 1926, which appointed as his successors in the event of his being unable to assume the administration of the Church, Cornelius, Archbishop of Sverdlovsk, Thaddeus, Archbishop of Astrakhan, and myself, I became temporarily the Guardian of the Patriarchal Throne, as it is impossible at the present time for the Archbishops Cornelius and Thaddeus to fulfil their duties. Submitting to the will of the Lord and taking upon my weak shoulders the heavy cross which is being laid upon me, I feel it my duty to appeal to all my brethren bishops, priests and laymen, and to implore them to be faithful and obedient to the Holy Orthodox Church by obeying only the lawful representatives of the Patriarchal Orthodox Russian Church, remembering that all those who separate themselves from Her and Her hierarchy are doomed to perish. This has happened to all the groups who have separated themselves from the Church since the year 1922 :— "Renaissance," Living Church, the Renewed Church, "V.V.T.S." * —all these have disappeared or are disappearing as rapidly as they appeared, after less than three years of existence, leaving sad traces of either doubt or complete loss of faith on the part of those whom they had entangled in their nets.

Imploring my brother bishops to help me to bear the heavy cross and great responsibility of administering the Russian Church, I beg of them to reduce as much as possible their correspondence and all other communications with me, and to leave all Church matters (except cases involving questions of principle and also cases concerning the whole Church, such as the ordaining of Bishops) to be settled definitely by local Church authorities.

In particular : cases concerning marriages and divorces, the appointment of priors and prioresses of monasteries, preferments (except mitres) are to be settled by the local Bishops, and in the case of a diocese having no Bishop, I ask that the name may be given me of the nearest Bishop to whom I may hand the case over, if I find it undesirable to handle it myself.

The Deputy Guardian of the Patriarchal Throne,

SERAPHIM, Archbishop of Uglitch.

I was privileged to be present in the now dismantled Chapel of the Russian Embassy in September, 1921, when Bishop Nicholai Velimirovic ordained Father Constantine Vesselovsky priest on a mandate

* V.V.T.S. means Vremenni Visshi Tserkovni Soviet, *i.e.*, Temporary Supreme Church Soviet.

from the Metropolitan Evlogie, and will remember the tears of happiness in Mrs. Vesselovsky's eyes as she told me that he had served in reader's orders for fifty years. His promotion to the priesthood was indeed the crown of a long life of faithful patient service, and never did young ordinand feel greater or fresher awe and privilege than that dear simple old man then already past three score years at being called to minister the Holy Mysteries. The Axios, Axios, Axios with which he was greeted at his ordination was emphatically genuine, and the uttering it plainly gave the congregation great pleasure. For, though Father Vesselovsky has never played a prominent part in the Russian Community, he was loved and respected by a very wide circle. In a way, too, he was an institution and an heirloom. Born in 1850, educated at the Petrograd Ecclesiastical Academy, and ordained reader in 1871, he had been transferred to the Chapel of the London Russian Embassy as far back as 1875. Those were the days of the Bonn Conference, of Overbeck's and Hatherley's Orthodox Church of England, of the early vigour of the E.C.A., and so forth. If Vesselovsky, the reader, was built for devotion and simple service, and took no part in those happenings, he knew something of their history, and came in contact with all leading Russians who visited London, and with most Anglicans, such as Liddon and Birkbeck, who from 1875 onwards have been concerned with the Orthodox-Anglican movement, than to speak of the wonderful progress of which in these later years nothing gave him greater pleasure. That he received his golden Pectoral Cross in 1923 and his Kamilavky in 1925, and was raised to be an Archpriest in 1926 gave us all great satisfaction. By his death from pneumonia on February 6th, the Russian Community in London has lost a kindly, faithful pastor, the Anglican Church a sincere friend, and the world a gentle, faithful Christian.—R.I.P. J.A.D.

In a leader on the recent tabling of a bill to establish a fixed Easter in England by a private member in the House of Commons, *The Times* remarked that the Orthodox Church approved the proposed reform. That was an overstatement. In fact, since the present incidence of Easter is determined by the canons of the First Œcumenical Council, 325 A.D., a fixed Easter is impossible for the Orthodox, except by the decision of an Œcumenical Council of all autokephalous churches, or, at least, failing such a Council, by their general consent. Indeed, there are authoritative Orthodox theologians who hold that the decree of an Œcumenical Council can be abrogated safely only by the decree of an Œcumenical Council. At any rate, that the Orthodox Church as a whole is unlikely to accept a fixed Easter unless it were established by an Orthodox Œcumenical Council is evidenced by the fact that while the " Pan-Orthodox " Conference

held at Constantinople in 1923 recommended that any proposal to that effect should be examined sympathetically, it relegated its final decision to the forthcoming Orthodox Council in preparation of which it was itself convened.

The difficulty and delicacy of a revision of the Canons of the Œcumenical Councils in itself is illustrated by the controversies to which the recommendations of the Constantinople Pan-Orthodox Conference of 1923 have given rise. For example, the new Calendar —it should be remembered that it is *not* identical with the Gregorian— recommended by it, has actually been adopted by some of the Orthodox Churches, but others have refused to consider it until it is established by an Œcumenical Council. Thus it is in vogue in the Great Church of Constantinople, in Greece and in Rumania, but not in the Alexandrian, Antiochene and Jerusalem Patriarchates. In Russia the Synodalists have accepted it, but the Patriarch Tikhon having first done so and then changed his decision, the Tikhonists have not. It has been imposed on the Orthodox of Poland, Finland and other succession states. In London, at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, which is under the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, it is observed, but at the Russian Church of St. Philip the Old Style is followed—and so on. That diversity denotes a divergence which might lead to considerable dispute, and, if no other pressing need existed, would render the convention of an Orthodox Œcumenical Council to settle the matter imperative. But the Turkish Government blocks the way by maintaining the prohibition by which, as soon as it found itself possessed of Constantinople in 1922, it forbade the Œcumenical Patriarchate to have anything to do with such a Council. Last year, indeed, it went so far as to threaten the Patriarchate with sharp punishment if it delegated representatives even to the Pro-Synod which it was proposed should assemble at Mt. Athos to act provisionally and in preparation for an Œcumenical Council. That the League of Nations has taken no action in regard to this intolerance which inflicts paralysis on the whole Orthodox Church, is surprising.

An Orthodox Œcumenical Council, and even a Pro-Synod, being thus precluded, the Patriarchate of Alexandria proposed last year that the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem should meet in a "regional conference" to discuss urgent matters which affect their Patriarchates and especially the new Calendar, and to that end the Metropolitan of Nubia visited the Holy City in January. The Patriarch of Jerusalem has replied, however, in a letter to the Patriarch of Alexandria, that, in view of the complications which would be entailed in the Holy Places were the Orthodox to observe Christmas and other fixed Feasts on the same day as the Latins, his Synod think it unwise at present to discuss the replacing of the Old Style by the New.

The "Orthodox and Anglo-Catholic Student Conference," which was held at St. Albans from January 11th to the 15th of this year, can hardly fail to bear good fruit in developing the Anglo-Orthodox *rapprochement*. Its purpose was "to bring together in quite an informal and unofficial manner a group of young men and women of the two Communions," in the belief that "the main contribution of the Student Christian Federation to the cause of unity is the bringing about of such understanding and friendship among students." The membership of the Conference totalled some fifty or sixty, and the invited "Leaders" were Dr. Gore, Fr. Bulgakoff, and Professor Bezobrazoff. Each day began at 7.30 with the singing of either the Anglican or the Orthodox Liturgy, and closed at 8.30 p.m. with evening prayers in English and Russian on alternate days. Papers were read on "*The Russian Orthodox Church and its Modern Saints*" (Prof. Bezobrazoff), "*Orthodoxy and Un-Orthodoxy*" (Fr. Bulgakoff), "*The Orthodox Church and Russian Youth*" (a Russian Student address), "*Anglo-Catholics and the Sacraments*" (Dr. Gore), "*An Anglo-Catholic Conception of the Church*" (Rev. W. S. A. Robertson), "*The Church and Modern Society*" (Dr. Gore), "*The Development and Practice of the Spiritual Life*" (an English Student address), and on the last day a Russian Student spoke on "*Ways of working together with the Anglicans.*"

In a closing address to the Conference, Mons. Zernoff made a fine appeal for closer understanding and co-operation between the Russian and Anglican Churches—for "it is not accidentally that we stand in need of one another. The British and Russian geniuses in union will give fullness and beauty to the Church which is being sought by all at the present time."

The experiment was a great success, and it is to be hoped that more such Conferences will be held in the future. We believe that another is already actually contemplated for next winter.

Two features which will distinguish the Fourth Anglo-Catholic Congress Pilgrimage from its predecessors are, first, that it will be held in the summer instead of the spring, in order that those who cannot get away during the months of April and May may have an opportunity to visit Palestine and the Near East in the month generally dedicated to rest and holidays, and secondly that a number of members of the American Church are expected to take part in the Pilgrimage. The Right Rev. Dr. Ivins, Coadjutor Bishop of Milwaukee, will lead the American contingent.

The Pilgrimage will leave London on Tuesday, August 2nd, and will be back in London again on August 29th. August suggests heat, so we append the following reassuring paragraphs from the official handbook of the Pilgrimage—

Those who take advantage of this opportunity need not fear excessive heat, at any rate as far as Jerusalem, the chief objective of this Pilgrimage, is concerned, for the Holy City is set on a hill some 2,500 feet high, and the Reverend Charles Steer, Chaplain of St. George's Cathedral, tells us that they had cool weather during last August. Except for our visit to Palestine, we shall sleep on board ship all the while, and the cool breezes of the Mediterranean will amply repay us for any heat endured during the day. So we hope that potential pilgrims will not be frightened away by rumours of torrid atmosphere or the burning heat of the sun.

The following paragraph appears in *Lines of Communication*—the " Diocesan Magazine of the Anglican Church in Jerusalem and throughout the Holy Land "—for September, 1926 :—

> " All who have been here agree in remarking on the cool and invigorating climate, and are disposed to think that the Anglican Pilgrimage proposed for August next year may very likely find that it has chosen a far better time of year than its previous essays at Eastertide."

The itinerary will be similar to that of 1925. The great objective is naturally Jerusalem and the Holy Land, but before Jaffa is reached the pilgrims will be given the opportunity of visiting Alexandria and Damascus, and the return journey will be broken by calls at Smyrna, Constantinople, and Athens.

The President of the Pilgrimage will be the Right Reverend Dr. Cook, the Lord Bishop of Lewes.

As we go to Press the unwelcome news reaches us that the Archimandrite Hilarion Basdekas will shortly be leaving this country to take up work elsewhere. His many friends in London, both Anglican and Orthodox, will learn of his decision with great regret for their own sakes, while heartily wishing him God-speed in his future work. As is well known to our readers, M. Basdekas has served devotedly for some years at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Bayswater, and since 1922 he has been a valued member of the General Committee of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association. In bidding farewell to his fellow members on the Committee M. Basdekas assures them that he will never cease to help in forwarding the work of Reunion, as long as he is spared to do so.

SOME DEBTS TO BYZANTINISM.

By Prof. F. H. Marshall.

This Article is in substance Prof. Marshall's inaugural lecture in the Koraes Chair of Modern Greek in the University of London.

DEMOSTHENES said that "it is natural for mankind to listen with pleasure to abuse and accusation," and this is, I fear, all too true. It cannot be denied that Byzantinism lies open to many charges. The absolutism of its rulers and the excess of ceremonial, so tediously described in the *Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the barren theological disputes, the absence of creative power, the absorption by monasticism of large numbers of the population which might have been more usefully and productively employed, the reluctance of the citizens to bear arms, and the ever-increasing enrolment of foreigners in the army, and the not infrequent exhibitions of perfidy and cruelty have all been pointed at with the finger of scorn. We may grant that many of these charges are true, but we may also observe that every great Empire is in the course of its history open to grave charges. The ancient Greek city-states and the Roman Republic have the great advantage of being institutions which we can study in their youthful growth and vigour, and as such they present in the course of their development the attractions with which youth is endowed. The Byzantine Empire was in its inception, like the Roman Empire, somewhat of an artificial product, and took over the heritage of a rather weary Greece and a rather weary Rome. Yet even dull middle-age has its uses, and it seems to me more profitable to dwell upon the merits which the Byzantine Empire undoubtedly possessed rather than to repeat the tale of its oft-told vices. I propose to indicate what appear to me to be some of the items which may be put to the credit side of the Byzantine account, and as a pendant to indicate some lines of study which I myself have found of interest in connection with mediæval and modern Greece, which can never be dissociated from both the Classical and Byzantine tradition.

(1) Western students have been too apt to view the Byzantine Empire from the Western standpoint. Gibbon's words, "I should have abandoned without regret the Greek slaves and their servile historians had I not reflected that the fate of the Byzantine monarchy is *passively* connected with the most splendid and important revolutions which have changed the state of the world," are characteristic of the arrogance and ingratitude of the Western mind when dealing with Eastern history. Were Heraclius, Leo the Isaurian, Nicephorus Phocas, John Zimisces, and Basil Bulgaroctonus men to whom the epithets "servile" and "passive" can be rightly applied? Can an

Empire which showed so repeatedly its ability to drive off the assaults of powerful peoples be regarded as an Empire of slaves? This resisting power of the Byzantine Empire is the first of the credit items which the West should put down to the Byzantine account, for that Empire long stood out as a bulwark of civilization. It is worth while to remind ourselves of some of the formidable foes she kept so long at bay, while Europe, far behind her in civilization, was making painful efforts to outgrow barbarism. In the fourth century she successfully pressed back the tide of Gothic invasion which overwhelmed Italy. In the next she staved off, though at the price of tribute, the threats of the Huns under Attila. In the sixth century come Belisarius' brilliant triumphs over the Vandals of Africa and the temporary recovery of Italy—triumphs not indeed to the permanent advantage of the Eastern Empire, whose influence was to be exercised in the East rather than in the West, but indicative at least of vitality. In the same century there followed the series of struggles with Huns, Slavs and Antæ on the line of the Danube, and a bitter war with the Persians was brought to a successful conclusion. In this century, too, a new foe appeared in the Avars of the Danube region. The seventh century witnessed a continuance of the furious contests with Avars, Slavs and Persians, illuminated by the brilliant efforts and successes of Heraclius, and marked also by the irruption of Slavs into the Greek peninsula. But a new foe arose in Moslem Arabia, and Syria and Egypt fell to the Arabs, who were destined to be at constant war with the Empire. From the eighth to the tenth century there were desperate wars with the Bulgarians and Russians, and the Hungarians and Patzinaks were added as foes. Triumphs were gained over the weakened Arabs of the East, and the Macedonian dynasty shed lustre on the sorely tried Empire. Even after the fatal blow from the Seljūk Turks at Mantzikert in 1071 the Empire was hard in dying. A Greek dynasty re-emerged after the rule of the Latins, and the first attack of the Ottoman Turks was beaten off. Could an Empire of degenerates and slaves have shown such vitality?

Before the Turkish siege which ended in its capture in 1453, Constantinople again and again saw hostile fleets and armies appear before her walls only to retire. The "Akáthistos" hymn celebrates the deliverance from the Avars in the reign of Heraclius, or, as some think, from the Arabs in the reign of Constantine IV. In 717–18 the Moslems under Muslama were driven off by the obstinate defence of Leo the Isaurian and the terrors of Greek fire. In 941 Igor the Russian failed with his thousand ships and forty thousand men. The Crusaders with their combination of force and fraud, were successful in 1203–4, but it was a victory which did the West little credit. If we call to mind the dangers to Western Europe caused by the Turkish sieges of Vienna in 1529 and 1683, we Westerners can feel some gratitude to the people who built and maintained the celebrated

walls of Constantinople, sometimes unjustly critized as an unromantic shield of defence.

(2) But the Byzantine Empire did much more than merely repel the assaults of barbarous or alien peoples. She imbued them with her own religion and culture. The christianizing and civilizing force of Constantinople worked upon the Slav peoples especially, and in no instance was this more marked than in her dealings with the Slavized Finno-Uralian Bulgarians. It was in the ninth century that the Bulgarian Tsar Boris adopted the Orthodox faith and assumed the Christian name of Michael ; after a struggle with Rome, Bulgaria definitely fell to the Eastern Church. The famous brothers Methodius and Cyril were their missionaries, and Cyril's invention of the Glagolithic script was of far-reaching importance for the civilization of the Slav peoples. It was under the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon (892–927) that Greek influence became most marked in Bulgaria. Simeon prided himself on his Greek culture, and Byzantine court ceremony was introduced into his capital. It was in his age, too, that Greek literature, especially ecclesiastical literature, was eagerly translated for the Bulgarians. Simeon himself translated extracts from John Chrysostom under the title of the *Golden Book*, and works like the *Chronicle of Malalas*, *Athanasius against the Arians*, and the *Hexameron* of John of Damascus were translated into the Slav language, and these translations had great influence upon Russian ecclesiastical literature. The translation from Greek works continued in the Bulgaria which revived after the conquests of Basil Bulgaroctonus. Architecture and painting under Simeon were directed by Byzantine artists. The relations between Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire were further cemented by the marriage of Simeon's son Peter to Maria, granddaughter of Romanus Lecapenus, and the name of the bride was changed to Irene. This is why Bulgarian envoys had precedence at the Court of Byzantium in the tenth century, as Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, found to his chagrin.

Greek ecclesiastical literature penetrated into Russia through Bulgaria, and Byzantine civilization was destined to exercise great influence upon Russia. Cyril's translations opened the way, and in the tenth century Christianity made great progress in the country. It is possible that the story of Queen Olga's baptism in 956–7 is legendary, but such doubt does not attach to the baptism of Prince Vladimir in 989, and his marriage to the Byzantine princess Anna marked the close union between the peoples. It is said that forty churches were built in Kiev in this century, and the architecture was Byzantine. The ecclesiastical organization was Greek, and the Metropolitan of the Russian Church was at first appointed by the Patriarch. The monastic system of the Byzantine Empire was also taken over, and the Pechersky monastery at Kiev was conducted

on the rule of Theodore of Studion. It has often been remarked that much of the ceremony of the Tsarist Court of Russia was Byzantine, and certain festivals, such as that of the " Blessing of the Waters," were conducted on lines closely resembling those of festivals described in the *Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Byzantine trade also had considerable effect in familiarizing the Russians with the manners and luxury of the Empire. We have interesting accounts of the annual Russian trade expeditions which set out from Kiev down the Dnieper, bound for Constantinople by way of the Black Sea. The Russians made the voyage, rendered difficult and dangerous by the rapids and the hostility of the Patzinaks and Khazars, through whose territory they had to pass, in boats hollowed out of a single tree trunk (monoxylons), and were accorded free quarters at St. Mamas at the bottom of the Golden Horn. From there they were allowed to pass into the city through one gate only, and not more than fifty at a time. They were exempted from tolls, and their wares were principally slaves, skins, honey and wax. For their voyage home they were furnished with the tackle necessary for the repair of their boats. In return for these favours they were bound by treaty to protect the Empire against the incursions of barbarian tribes, and carried away with them the silks and other articles of luxury which Constantinople could supply.

But numerous Russians served in the Imperial armies, and supplied crews for its fleets. The Scandinavian Ros, who had established themselves in Russia, sometimes made expeditions against the Byzantines, and from the ninth to the eleventh century also served the Empire as mercenaries. Their weapons were principally the battle-axe and two-edged sword, and they came to form the Imperial body-guard known as " Varangians," though after the Norman Conquest they were largely superseded by Anglo-Saxons and Danes. Many a Norseman had in the eleventh century sought out " Tsarigrad " as a refuge from poverty and political disturbance, attracted to Constantinople by the high pay given to Imperial guardsmen. The exploits of Harald Hardrada, brother of King Olaf of Norway, and himself ultimately king of that country, are alluded to in the *Strategikon* of Kekauménos and the anonymous *Nouthetetikon*, and passed into the Sagas. Between 1033–43 he fought valiantly for the Empire, and his career should make a special appeal to Englishmen as that of one who ultimately fell fighting on English soil at the battle of Stamford Bridge. War also was thus an instrument for increasing amongst the Russians and their Scandinavian element a knowledge of the customs and riches of the Byzantine Empire.

The Serbs, too, drew much of their civilization from the Byzantines. The one chiefly responsible for Byzantine infiltration was Stephan Nemanya (1171–1195), who died as a monk at Athos in 1200. The faith and ritual of the Orthodox Church were introduced into his

country and, despite Western influence by way of the Adriatic, the Court ceremonies of the Byzantine Empire were adopted by the Serbian monarchs. Between 1280 and 1360 Serbian architecture was developed on Byzantine lines, through Salonika and Athos, and monasticism became a marked feature, and with monasticism was developed an ecclesiastical literature in the mystic and ascetic vein which appealed so greatly to the Slavonic temperament.

Modern Russia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Jugoslavia cannot therefore be understood without a realization of their debt to Byzantine ecclesiastical and civil life.

Though Byzantinism has left its most permanent mark upon Greece and the Slav countries, it also influenced, though less permanently, non-Slav peoples. The Hungarians, that intrusive Finno-Uralian people, received their culture through Slav and Christian influences, and herein Byzantium had a large share. The Hungarians were alternately the allies and the foes of the Empire. The Orthodox Church made strenuous efforts for their conversion, and a monk Hierotheus was consecrated "Bishop of the Turks." In the eleventh century Byzantine trade influences were strong, and the Empire's silks and metal-work were exchanged for Hungarian horses and salt. Latin influence ultimately predominated in religion, but even to-day the Orthodox Church has numerous followers in Hungary. Appropriately the crown of St. Stephen was formed of two parts, the one given by a Pope, the other by a Byzantine Emperor.

The barbarous Patzinaks, lying between the Empire and the Russians, were never civilized, but were sometimes used by the Empire as allies. The relations of the Byzantines with the Finnish Khazars, situated between the mouths of the Don and the Volga, were far closer. They were in intimate touch with both Byzantines and Arabs, and showed a theological bent, especially in the direction of Judaism. Constantine Copronymus married a Khazar princess, who adopted the name of Irene; Khazar customs had some effect upon the Byzantines, and Khazar mercenaries served in the Byzantine armies.

The Byzantine Emperors were in touch with all the different branches of the Arabs, with those of Baghdad, Egypt, Africa and Spain. Warfare with the Arabs of the East and the Fatimites of Africa was constant, but a certain mutual respect accompanied these conflicts. The combatants had common interests not merely in military organization, but also in science. This was especially the case with the Arabs of the East, and the Courts of Constantinople and Baghdad tried to outdo one another in splendour. The *Ceremonies* tell us that in 946 Arab envoys were received with a splendid display of gold and silver, silks and embroideries (largely borrowed from the churches), and were given a review of the different mercenary troops of the Empire and entertained by an equestrian show in the Hippo-

drome. A mosque was allowed to Arab merchants in Constantinople. Greek learning, particularly the writings of Aristotle, greatly affected the intellectual life of the Court of Baghdad.

(3) The influence of the Orthodox Church upon the Slav peoples has already been noted. But there are many other instances of the missionary zeal of the Byzantines, and the Orthodox Church has many claims upon the gratitude of those who profess and call themselves Christians. In the time of Theodosius the Younger it was the Byzantine Government which welcomed two Armenians, Mesrob and Sahak, who had translated the Scriptures into their native tongue, and had fled into the territory of the Empire to escape the persecution of the Persians. The translation-school founded by these two fugitives was furthered by the Government, and thus was started the translation literature of the Armenians, entirely dependent on the Greek. The period of the Nestorian controversy seems a barren one, but it was the Nestorian missionaries who carried the Gospel to India and China. Justinian's reign marked something more than ambitious military expeditions; in addition to its great legislative achievements, it was an epoch in missions, and the Emperor and Theodora used their diplomatic influence to gain protection for the missionaries. These penetrated to the Heruls round Singidunum, the modern Belgrade, to the Hunnish stocks north of the Black Sea, and to the peoples of the Caucasus. Their princes appeared for baptism in the capital. In Africa the oases of the Sahara were won over to Christianity. The bloody persecution of the Christians in the Yemen by the Jewish king Dhu Nuwas stirred the Christians of the Empire deeply, and the capture of the Yemen by the Christian king of the Ethiopians was greeted with extreme joy, and by Imperial command a cleric was sent out as bishop to southern Arabia. The Monophysites of Egypt, under the protection of Theodora, showed themselves particularly active in missionary work, and Julian, an Alexandrian cleric, began, according to John of Ephesus, the conversion of the Nubians, which Bishop Longinus subsequently completed. The king and people of the Nobatæ received baptism, and the king of the neighbouring Alodæ followed his example. From this time the Nubian Church continued in closest touch with the Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria. Nor should we English forget that it was a Greek of the Byzantine Empire, Theodore of Tarsus, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope in 668, who really laid the foundations of the English ecclesiastical system, and changed the Church from a collection of mission stations to a series of well-ordered dioceses grouped round the see of Canterbury. "He was the first Archbishop," says Bede, "whom all the English Church obeyed." Theodora, wife of the Emperor Theophilus, in the ninth century, really organized the great missions

which were later to carry the gospel amongst the Khazars, the Moravians and the Bulgarians.

The Orthodox Church therefore did something more than conduct barren controversies, and her influence is still a living force to-day amongst millions in the Nearer East. Greece, Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Jugoslavia all bear witness to the creeds and ceremonies which have appealed to the faith of masses of simple men.

(4) Another great debt is owed to the Byzantine Empire as the conserver of ancient Greek literature. It may be allowed that there is little creative force in Byzantine literature, but it is too often forgotten that the Empire was a storehouse of ancient learning and that the study of the Greek Classics never really ceased there. A work like the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena in the twelfth century, despite all its defects of an exaggerated style, shows how thoroughly the Greek Classics were studied. Encyclopædists like Photius and Psellus corresponded in a sense to the great Alexandrian encyclopædists, and Photius in particular has preserved much that would otherwise have been lost in his *Bibliotheca*, and by his *Lexicon* he laid the foundation of the Greek etymological lexicons, and this work was carried on by Suidas. Manuscripts of the Classics were multiplied in a monastery such as that of Studion at Constantinople.

Thus, without creating much herself, Constantinople prepared the way for the revival of Greek learning in Europe. The study of Greek had been pursued in Italy in the fourteenth century by men like Petrarch and Boccaccio, and the collecting of Greek manuscripts had been begun by Guarino and Poggio. The Sicilian Aurispa had in 1417 collected some Greek manuscripts from the East, and during a residence at Constantinople in 1422–3 gathered no fewer than 238 manuscripts of Greek Classics. In 1427 Francesco Filelfo, Secretary to the Venetian Legation at Constantinople, brought back a further valuable collection. Cyriacus of Ancona (1391–1450) learned Greek at Constantinople, and not only collected manuscripts, but travelled widely in Greek lands, and brought back many copies of inscriptions.

But the personal contact of Greeks contributed most powerfully to the diffusion of Greek in the West. Emmanuel Chrysoloras, a former ambassador of Constantinople to the Western Powers for the purpose of seeking help against the Turks, returned in 1395 to Florence and taught Greek with much enthusiasm, both there and in the other Universities of Italy. His *Erotemata* was the first grammar of the Greek language, and was long in use. The Council of Florence in 1439 established contact between the scholars of East and West, and the aged Georgios Gemistos in particular attracted the Florentines with his Neo-Platonic philosophy. Under the changed name of Plethon he promoted the appreciation of Plato at the expense of Aristotle, and the work of popularizing Greek was carried forward by his pupil Bessarion, afterwards Cardinal at Rome, and by a band of

emigrant Greeks who gathered round him after the fall of Constantinople, notably the Aristotelian Theodorus Gaza, who became Professor of Greek at Ferrara, and Georgios of Trebizond, also an Aristotelian and later a Papal Secretary. Another Aristotelian was Argyropoulos of Constantinople, who lectured on Greek at Florence under the patronage of the Medici. Demetrios Chalcocondyles of Athens taught Greek at Padua and Florence, and published the first printed editions of Homer, Isocrates and Suidas towards the end of the fifteenth century.

Thus did captured Greece again make an intellectual capture of the West. Do those who laud the ancient Greek Classics and pour scorn upon the Byzantines realize how much the Byzantine Empire did towards enabling them to read the Classics they enjoy?

(5) It would not be right to pass over Byzantine architecture and art in complete silence in any survey of the benefits conferred by the Byzantine Empire upon modern civilization. The influence of Byzantine architecture and church decoration upon the Slavonic peoples has already been touched upon, and a very brief estimate of Byzantine architecture and art as a whole may be added. Byzantine art was the outcome of many influences—Roman, Oriental and Christian—but it may be said that that of Christianity was the most powerful. We know comparatively little about palace and domestic architecture, though there are, of course, many allusions to the different parts of the Great Palace at Constantinople; but we know a great deal about the Empire's church architecture. The Roman architects had developed the arch, the vault and the apse; the Byzantines developed the dome, which had, of course, been introduced by the Romans in concrete, as in the case of the Pantheon. The dome was probably popularized in Constantinople as the result of contact with the East, and we know that Justinian rebuilt the Church of the Holy Apostles in this style. In the most splendid example of dome-structure, the cruciform church of St. Sophia, the peculiar Byzantine device of the pendentive for accommodating the circle of the dome to the square plan of the supporting pillars is best exemplified. It is significant that both the architects of St. Sophia were drawn from Asia Minor. The brilliant internal effects produced by coloured marbles and brightly-coloured mosaics are also a feature of these Byzantine churches, and in the designing of the mosaics the artist worked in close alliance with the architect. In the later Byzantine churches external colouring was introduced as well, by decorating the outer walls with coloured brick and marble. Byzantine church architecture has left its mark on Venice and farther West, and in our own London the beautiful Greek church in Moscow Road gives an idea of its more prominent features.

In the field of art, as applied to small objects such as manuscripts, metal and ivory work, and jewellery, the Byzantine artists showed a

very high degree of skill. Their illuminations are marked by most careful attention to minute detail, fine colour effects, and excellent portraiture. The manuscripts often give us interesting pictures of the appearance of the foreign peoples with whom the Empire was brought into contact. Byzantine jewellery, in its fondness for precious stones, carries on a tradition which had been in vogue in the Greek and Roman world since the Eastern conquests of Alexander the Great, and develops the later Roman tradition when jewellery of an Oriental type was very popular. But a very large proportion of the minor artistic products of the Byzantine Empire are inspired by Christianity, and this really gives its unity to Byzantine art as a whole. Those who study the products of Byzantine artists will not readily agree with some critics that they are lifeless and childish.

Six main items of debt to the Byzantine Empire have thus been suggested: its services to the West as a bulwark of civilization; its influence in moulding the culture of the peoples with which it came into close contact; its missionary activity and upholding of Christianity in Eastern Europe; its conservation of ancient Greek literature and of the Greek language; its contribution to the revival of learning in the West by means of its teachers, and finally its contribution to the world's art. A seventh item, a Byzantine contribution to Law, might well be added, were not the subject too technical for discussion here. It may seem that a little more study might be profitably devoted, especially in England, to the history, language, and art of this great Empire. Such study might lead to a wider and more intelligent comprehension of the problems of the Nearer East, and thus to an increase of friendship between East and West.

Mediæval and modern Greece cannot properly be understood without a comprehension of her historic connection with the Byzantine Empire. The "Great Idea" may have receded into impracticability, but historical facts remain. I may perhaps be allowed to mention some studies in the sphere of mediæval and modern Greek that I myself have found of decided interest.

The history of Greece itself in its various phases, under Roman sway, and as a province of the Byzantine Empire, with the successive Avar and Slav invasions, and the Slav, Vlach and Albanian settlements, is full of interest. The transformation into Frankish dukedoms and the introduction of feudal customs offer much that is picturesque. The Catalan and Florentine rule of Athens abounds in dramatic incidents. Under Turkish sway the transference of Greek culture to the Danubian principalities, and the foundation of Greek Schools at Bucharest and Jassy, and the Greek works produced by the printing presses of these cities under the rule of the Hospodars, are subjects about which there is a good deal of information, but about which little is known outside a small circle of specialists. The enthusiastic teaching of George Gennadius at Bucharest and his

influence in the formation of the "Sacred Band" shed a ray of brightness on the gloom attending Ypsilanti's campaign in 1821.

Another very interesting field for research is that connected with the Greek literature of Crete produced under the Venetian sway. I have elsewhere drawn attention to the remarkable poem of the Cretan Georgios Choumnos, on *Genesis and Exodus*, with its wealth of Biblical legends and its connection with Slavonic Christianity. But Crete in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced much else of great literary and linguistic interest. It is sufficient to mention the Cretan plays published by Sathas, such as the *Erophile* and the *Gyparis*, which, though they owe much to the Italian, have distinctive features of their own, and would be found of interest by students of the pre-Shakespearean drama, and to draw attention to romantic poems like Kornaros' *Erotokritos* and the Greek translation of Boccaccio's *Teseide*, which has analogies with the *Erotokritos*, and links with our own Chaucer.

If we turn to quite different scenes, the schemes of Curil Lucar as Patriarch of Constantinople for the union of the Eastern and Western Churches in the early seventeenth century seem to strike quite a modern note, and should be of interest to students of history and theology alike. We possess an exceedingly interesting account of the intrigues at Constantinople at this time in the correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe, our own ambassador at the Porte, which throws much light on the proceedings of the Jesuits, supported by the French ambassador, and the counteracting efforts of the English and Dutch ambassadors, and incidentally alludes to the efforts of the Earl of Arundel to obtain Greek antiquities and to Roe's own efforts to obtain Greek manuscripts. The Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum is the most celebrated monument of his efforts. But the career of Cyril's protégé, Metrophanes Critopoulos, both as a student at Oxford and a student in the Universities of Germany, is one that deserves a wider knowledge on many counts. His album, published by the late Mr. Markos Rheniérēs, is full of interest as evidence of the numerous persons of distinction with whom he came into contact both in England and in Germany, and illustrates the conditions of the Universities of Germany during the Thirty Years' War. Critopoulos was really Cyril's emissary to promote his darling project of a union between the Churches, but that effort was unsuccessful, and the ultimate attitude of Critopoulos as Patriarch of Alexandria shows that, despite his long residence in England and Germany, he absolutely rejected Calvinism, and clung tenaciously to the tenets of the Orthodox Church. There is much in his story which should provide food for thought for those who are working for a union of the Eastern and Western Churches.

ORTHODOXY AND THE LIVING CHURCH.

By G. Maklakoff.

IN 1917 the Revolution broke out, and swept away all the institutions of the Russian Empire. After the abdication of Nicholas II. the Throne itself was abolished. The rupture between the Church and the State brought forth the institution of civil marriages, and liberty of creed was followed by the suppression of salaries paid by the State. The priests began to lose their "clients," *i.e.*, those of their parishioners who performed the rites required by the Church either by habit, or simply wishing to do what others did, without being truly attached to their creed.

The faithful parishioners, relieved of dead weight, small in number, but strong in their faith, saw their Church destined to disappear, without even making an effort of resistance. They resolved to do all in their power to defend themselves. Towards the end of the summer of 1917 a Church Council was convoked in Moscow. At this meeting the main lines of Church organization were traced out, and the organization of the parish, the base on which the whole edifice was to be constructed, was carefully studied. At the same time the whole Assembly were unanimous in their desire of restoring the patriarchate. But this was not so easy to do. If we compare the names of the persons who took part in this Ecclesiastical Assembly with those of the members of the Constituent Assembly, which took place about the same time and in the same town, we shall see that the majority were identical. The political divergencies of opinion in the Constituent Assembly, which gave the victory to the brutal Bolshevik minority over the more moderate majority—were strongly felt at the Ecclesiastical Assembly. The conservatives considered the Orthodox Church as the main stay of monarchism, and being at the same time sincerely religious—they were not less faithful to their political convictions, and hoped to support them with the aid of ancient church-traditions. They recalled to mind the Metropolitans of the fourteenth century, working for the harmony of the Moscovite monarchy, the clergy persecuted for their devotion to Russian monarchs at that cruel epoch of 1598–1613, and they hoped, in spite of two hundred bureaucratic years, to see the Church acting in the same spirit once more. The radical party, less interested in the religious questions, wished above all to turn the clergy away from the monarchical propaganda, as its influence on the religious masses would be undesirable for their republican schemes. This party desired chiefly to fill the void produced by the disappearance of the monarch, and to strengthen the breach between the Church and the State. They thought that a perfectly non-political patriarch would

fulfil these conditions. As to the clergy, who realized better than anyone else the depth of the revolutionary movement, they preferred to act prudently and keep aside from all political strife.

The Ecclesiastical Assembly had to choose three candidates for the patriarchal see. If we could know all that is concealed by the secret note, we could say that Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev, who received the majority, was supported especially by the conservative party; the Metropolitan Arsene, of Novgorod, by the clergy and the clerical party; and the Metropolitan Tikhon of Moskow, who received the smallest number of votes, answered mostly to the desires of the Radicals. It was one of these three Metropolitans that divine Providence had to choose. After a solemn Church-service at St. Saviour's Cathedral, three papers—each bearing the name of one of the candidates, were put into the chalice. A blind monk, respected for his old age and holy life, after a short prayer, drew out one paper. It bore the name of the Metropolitan Tikhon. It was handed over to Archdeacon Rosof, who was renowned in Russia for his formidable voice, and he solemnly offered up the following prayer: "May the Saviour grant many years to his Holiness Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and of all the Russias." And the crowd of worshippers, deeply moved, kneeled down before the newly elected Head of the revived Orthodox Church. Everybody was pleased, and the conservative party even hoped that the new Patriarch would not hesitate in bringing the troubled minds of his flock back to the idea of a legitimate continuation of the Romanof dynasty.

The Communist *coup d'état* interrupted the work of the Ecclesiastical Assembly, and the relations between the Patriarch and his See were not worked out in detail. This blank gave a great liberty of action to the Head of the Church, who, according to circumstances, had to organize the intermediate hierarchy himself. Patriarch Tikhon did this very cautiously, and it may be that the Orthodox Church owes its very existence to his wise prudence. He took care not to engage himself in politics, and never went beyond his rights as Head of the Church.

The Russian Church, accustomed to depend on the Emperor, who was more of a powerful protector than a severe sovereign—felt suddenly weakened, bereft of support, and thrown out upon a stormy sea, stirred up by a raging tempest. It was inevitably obliged to determine a course of action and fix an aim. If the question of drawing nearer to Rome had been seriously raised, it would have met many opponents: the ecclesiastical dignitaries, at all times hostile to Catholicism, and afraid of losing their position in case of a Church-Union, would raise dogmatic objections; married priests, menaced by celibacy, would oppose themselves to such a union by the instinct of a race afraid of putting an end to its own existence—and the nationalists would have put forward the question of Byzantine

traditions and of the tragic fate of Orthodoxy in Poland. It would also not have been surprising to have heard the opinion of the "Eurasists," that it would be wiser for Russia to draw closer to Asia, where the Russians could form the aristocracy of an Eastern civilization. Having rejected the idea of an agreement with the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church had to remain faithful to its own traditions of loyalty towards the temporal power, which, according to St. Paul, comes from God. But this was easier to do during the monarchy than at this moment, when Russia lay under the yoke of the Bolsheviks—those fanatics of anti-deistical doctrines. And the Russian Church stood irresolute, awaiting further events, which soon unfolded themselves with cinematographical rapidity. And it is at that moment that the "Living Church" came to life.

This theme, which I have now the temerity to approach, is one of the most obscure, as all information on the subject is so contradictory and partial that one can hardly give it credit. In these pages I shall try to expose only what I really believe to be true, basing myself upon evident facts.

The Living Church sprang from the Russian Orthodox Church and, supported by the Bolshevik authorities, aimed at, if not completely ruining, at least decomposing and absorbing, the ancient Church, which, in the tumult of the Revolution, had retired from all political life, and confined itself within the walls of a purely spiritual institution.

In the history of the Living Church we must distinguish four distinct phases :—

(1) Its appearance during the complete moral and social revolution of Russia.
(2) Its rapid development to the detriment of the Orthodox Church, persecuted by the Soviet Government.
(3) Its gradual return to Orthodox rites and rules, and
(4) Its decadence and disappearance.

I shall try, as far as my information allows me, to explain here the part that this extraordinary movement played in the life of the Russian Orthodox Church.

I

The Russian Revolution produced great confusion in the organization of the Orthodox Church. We can well realize its moral state during the first months of communistic tyranny. And yet there exists a number of Orthodox believers who accuse the Russian clergy of having been too passive. Lenin was not a political man—he was not even the head of a party: he was an active apostle of Communism, and it is the epithet of "Prophet" that he frequently received from his devoted followers. Consequently it was not

Church and State which met face to face in the beginning of 1918—but two representatives of totally opposed religions—his Holiness Tikhon, Patriarch of all the Russias, and Comrade Lenin, Apostle of Christian doctrines mutilated by materialism. The chief care of the former was to save the convalescent Church from utter destruction; the latter was absorbed in the structure of the Soviet Republic, and consequently neither had the desire of war, although each knew that a cruel struggle would be inevitable in the end.

The Revolution set all passions and vices free, and gave all sectarians the right of preaching their creed—for which they were prosecuted during the Empire. Under the name of "Liberty" all moral and social obligations that every civilized society imposes on its members were abolished. Such words, as rude, cynic, vulgar—profanation, violation, murder, theft, honour, duty, conscience—as anti-revolutionary and bourgeois terms, were prohibited by the mad and depraved crowd. It was a mania, almost a cult of the word "Red." It was considered well to use this adjective as an addition to all possible words. There existed red generals, red barristers, red soldiers, red peasants, red prisons, red courts of justice, etc. For the "Reds" there were no prohibitive laws. "Red" was the antithesis to "bourgeois." And at that period the world was turned upside down. The "Reds" were ready to do anything they could so as not to appear like a "bourgeois," and we must acknowledge that they went very far in this direction of sweeping away all that reminded of the former *régime*. This moral state of mind did not enchant all the Bolshevik leaders: they began to feel troubled by the endless claims of the masses. As to the Church, bound to maintain and preach morality—its trials were very hard, and it naturally suffered much more than the Soviet Government.

Thus the general depravity bent the scales to the advantage of the red rulers. This regrettable movement at last took hold of the Church. Certain priests began to "redden" from the first days of the Revolution. I personally had the opportunity of seeing a "red" burial, in the autumn of 1917. A "red" soldier, who died in a "red" hospital, was piously put by his comrades into a coffin painted red. On the lid of the coffin, which is carried in Russia at the head of the procession, were to be seen red flowers and ribbons, and the "red" priest, wearing red vestments, preceded the funeral procession. According to the Church rules he ought to have worn on that occasion silver vestments—the red ones being used only during the commemoration-services for Christian martyrs, but the priest turned "red." A year later the number of such priests was considerable, and they grew more and more self-confident in their acts and manners in comparison with that part of the clergy, who silently clothed themselves in their correct vestments. These ecclesiastical innovators did not content themselves with inoffensive liberalism, such as the red funeral

described above, and began to adapt orthodox dogmas and rules to the moral conditions of a new mode of life.

The causes of these innovations were very numerous. First of all, the priests who were less devoted to their religion, were afraid of remaining outside the general movement, which had prevailed and become dangerous to them—the former Tzarist functionaries. From a feeling of cautiousness, and also from the habit of being always on good terms with the mighty—these worst elements strove to make friends with the future opponents of their Church. Some of them, in the quality of functionaries thinking only of their own career, tried to remove those of their colleagues who were not capable of such dishonest and unworthy behaviour. It is also possible that some priests took this line, hoping in this way to exercise more effectively their influence over the masses. Anyway, we must agree that in 1918 a considerable part of the Russian clergy was caught by this infection. These dissenters, disorganized as they were, had to look for new forms of religion. The Church, headed by Patriarch Tikhon, being unfit to act against such a movement without the help of the former Home-office, remained more or less silent, and it is this attitude of the Church that we can perhaps reproach, for it encouraged the innovators, and allowed the street disorder to penetrate into the precincts of the Church. They began by making themselves comfortable, and anything they found inconvenient for themselves was rejected as "bourgeois." All that was desirable was admitted as "red." Monks were allowed to marry, and nevertheless perform their monastic functions; widowed priests married a second time; married priests were allowed to occupy a bishop's see, etc.

A high and impenetrable wall stood between the black clergy (namely, the monks, from among whom Archimandrites, Bishops, and Metropolitans were recruited) and the white clergy, by which we understand parish priests and deacons, allowed to marry but once, before their ordination. This custom allowed the priests to come into closer contact with their parishioners, whom they had to guide—but the Church was governed only by monks, who had abandoned the world to devote their whole life to God. Before becoming Bishops, *i.e.*, successors of the Apostles, they had to pronounce the great vows of abnegation and achieve distinction in the monasteries by their pious and virtuous life.

But behold, in Kiev, in the very cradle of Russian Orthodoxy, a married priest was dedicated to the sacred office of Metropolitan by a crowd of exalted peasant-women, who formed a chain from the shrine of St. Barbe to the "Metropolitan" kneeling before the altar. Similar cases took place in several other towns, to the detriment of the Orthodox cult. The "red" priests started improvising new prayers during church-service. Sometimes these improvisations were more or less successful, but could not compensate for the dis-

orders that followed as a fatal result of such individual fantasy. They disfigured the Church-service to such an extent that even those who knew thoroughly the rites and ceremonies of the Orthodox Church were quite perplexed.

II

The Patriarch, seeing that his decrees of excommunication brought no results, decided to convoke a Church Council; but the Soviet Government gave its consent only to the assembly of a Congress, the sole aim of which was to regulate the relations between the Government and the different religious creeds. The Orthodox Church desired to sweep away all undesirable elements and organize a majority that had remained faithful to its religious dogmas. The Communists, in their turn, desired to assemble a Congress, in which this majority of faithful Orthodox believers would be crushed by the red party, whose numbers would be increased by all the dissidents from Orthodoxy, who were now, after the Revolution, allowed the full liberty of following their creed. The results of this Congress were to the Communists an agreeable surprise. They found here new means to weaken the ancient Church by constituting the "New Living Church." This Church, far from giving its dogmas a definite shape, formed a block of most variable and mobile cults, in all things obedient to the Soviet Government. The true Orthodox believers, disheartened by all the preceding facts, did not attend the Congress, and thus encouraged the Communist fanatics in their decision to make war against the Church.

The second phase in the existence of the Living Church was distinguished by the persecution and humiliation of the Orthodox Church. It lasted nearly three years. The priests were obliged to form syndicates and corporations, similar to the typographers, miners, railwaymen, etc. It is needless to explain the inconvenience of such an absurd measure. After that they directed their attention to the Church buildings. Beautiful cathedrals were transformed into halls for meetings, cinemas, clubs. The ikons were taken away, without any regard for the feelings of the pious church-goers. But this gave birth to general indignation, which united not only the representatives of different cults, but even those indifferent to religion. Here and there the voice of protest was raised—that of the parishioners louder than that of the clergy—the voice of women louder than that of men. In Batoum and Odessa, for instance, the simple market-women drove away with sticks and stones a detachment of the red militia who came to requisition a Church.

The terrible famine, which followed closely the Communistic agrarian reforms, induced the Soviet Government to take extraordinary measures. Russia, which under the Emperors existed chiefly by the export of her corn, saw herself compelled to import corn from

abroad. The Church possessed hidden riches, which it did not wish to give away to the Bolshevik Government, being sure that they would disappear in the commissaries' purses. Perhaps, at that moment, the Church failed in doing a fine action by not declaring that the Orthodox cloisters, faithful to their traditions of helping the poor, were ready to give up their treasures of their own free will. Unhappily several monasteries and churches went so far as to conceal their riches, and it was only by force, and after energetic perquisitions, that the " Tchekas " at last took possession of them. Naturally this was used as a weapon of propaganda against the Church and clergy in the regions stricken by famine.

It is sometimes better to face events in advance than to await their arrival. But we must also say that it is much easier for us, living under the protection of stable laws, to criticize than it was to act during the chaos of the Russian Revolution. After having excited the masses, stupified by hunger and cold, by this propaganda, the Communists attacked the very dogmas of the Orthodox religion. The autopsy of the relics of the Saints took place everywhere. At the present moment you can see in the " red " museums the bones or dried-up bodies of Russian Saints, and even wax figures, which were found in the churches during these perquisitions. The soldiers of the red Army, full of consternation, assisted at these proceedings. Cases of madness and of sudden death, which happened on these occasions, are not denied even by Bolsheviks. It is said, for instance, that the physician who accomplished the autopsy of the mortal remains of St. Joasaph of Belgorod, was stricken by blindness the next day. All this brought on a series of great troubles in Russia.

Some said that wax figures were found in the sumptuous sarcophagi; others praised the cunning of the monks, who succeeded in hiding the real holy relics, and replacing them by false ones. Consequently, the results attained by these sacrileges were very diverse, and the rumours that arose prove that neither the Orthodox believers were shaken in their faith, nor the number of atheists increased. During this period the Living Church formed its ranks—the false Metropolitan Antonine and the " red " priest Krasnitsky placing themselves at its head. But in spite of this it did not become more definite in its structure. Its clergy consisted mostly of adventurers, who had neither faith, nor sense of honour, and whose sole desire was to follow the profession which they knew more or less—that of being a priest without having the soul of a priest. The Living Church, in order to attract those parishioners who had fled from the persecuted Orthodox Church, had to reduce its innovations to the minimum. In 1921 the Russian emigrants, who came directly from Russia, asserted that the difference between the two cults was not so great. At any rate, many functionaries, who feared to be seen in a patriarchal church, in need of religious guidance, attended the

Mass officiated by red priests. These last, having rejected the canonic and administrative power of the Patriarch, gained the support of the Soviet Government, and profited by this to get hold of the best town and village parishes, where they could settle firmly and be sure of not being annoyed by the Church authorities. The Living Church was, in fact, only an association of individuals, who had failed in life and who, having earned a bad reputation, could not expect to play any important part in the true Orthodox Church. Besides, the political events could only encourage them in forsaking the ancient Church, fated to be persecuted by the Soviets.

Famine, the inseparable companion of Communism, always served the Soviet Government as a good pretext for seizing everything that had any value. The Church-vessels, which were generally made of solid silver, and often of gold, attracted their avidity. Perquisitions were renewed with such zeal that many churches lost all possibility of performing divine service. It would be interesting to learn in what proportion the revenue of these perquisitions was divided between the famished population, the propaganda service, and the pockets of the commissaries. Patriarch Tikhon, brought to the end of endurance, decided at last to proclaim aloud all the humiliations endured by the Church. He excommunicated all the Soviet functionaries who took part in the above-mentioned acts of infamy and sacrilege. But the faithful Orthodox believers had but little time to rejoice at the firmness of their spiritual chief, for the epoch of martyrdom began: bishops were executed for having communicated the text of the Patriarch's decree to their dioceses; priests were killed for having refused to deliver to commissaries the holy vessels, which priests only can touch; parishioners were murdered for having hidden precious objects belonging to their churches. The Bolshevists, wishing to avoid the impression of a persecution directed solely against the Orthodox Church, made efforts to apply the same policy in respect to Catholics, Jews and Mohammedans.

III

Now let us pass to the third phase of the Living Church. It is here, perhaps, that the part played by the Living Church in the history of the Orthodox Church appears at its best. Its administrative measures, except the numerous executions, were very simple. In 1922 the Patriarch was imprisoned. He named Metropolitan Agafangel as his substitute. But Agafangel notified all the bishops that, in view of the impossibility of giving necessary directions from Moscow, he ordered the organization of local synods, in order to settle those questions which were beyond the competency of the bishops. The number of such synods was to correspond to the geographical and administrative condition of the country. For instance, the

emigrant-bishops have formed a synod in Karlovzi (Serbia), presided over by Metropolitan Anthony—the first candidate to the patriarchal See. But Metropolitan Agafangel, before arriving at Moscow, was thrown into prison, and consequently could not take the place of Patriarch Tikhon. The central administration of the Church being suppressed, the Soviet Government started an official inquiry which compelled every priest to declare very definitely whether he recognized the authority of the Patriarch, or that of the Living Church. Most of the priests, although faithful to the Orthodox Church, but burdened with numerous families, and accustomed to obey the Government, answered in such a way that the Patriarch was forced to believe that he had scarcely any faithful sons amongst the priests in Russia. Those who closely followed these tragic moments in the history of the Orthodox Church, from Western Europe, might suppose that the Orthodox Church had come to her end. But Russia is a land of miracles, and it was only after a baptism of blood and dishonour that the real resurrection of the Church began. This resurrection took two aspects: (1) there was a kernel of faithful believers who stood firm and unshaken in spite of all their trials, and (2) the predominance in the Living Church of new adherents who in the depth of their hearts remained faithful to the old Orthodox dogmas and rites. This time the parishioners showed great moral strength and gained the victory.

The Patriarch Tikhon and his substitute, the Metropolitan Agafangel, were imprisoned. There remained in Moscow only the rulers of the Living Church. These hastened to nominate a " false " Metropolitan for Petrograd. This latter, arriving at his See on the banks of the Neva in the late afternoon, drove immediately to the Cathedral of our Lady of Kazan, where he officiated before an immense congregation. During this service he did not recite the assigned prayers for the Patriarch, but introduced several new prayers, improvised by the Living Church. When he came out of the Cathedral and was passing under the beautiful colonnade, he was met by shouts and yells of indignation, and in spite of the efforts of the police he was hit by several stones and gravely injured. Cries of " Be off ! we don't want you, we have our real Metropolitan ! " rose from all sides. It is needless to say that this was quite sufficient for the real Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd to be arrested. He was brought before the " red " tribunal and accused of having organized a political revolt.

I pointed out above that the Russian bishops are compelled to be monks, and I shall add that a Russian monk loses all civil rights. When he takes his vows, his last will is executed as if he were dead ; he abandons his family and surname, takes another name, and henceforth a new life begins for him. Flowing black garments, long hair, a beard, a name taken from olden times preceded by the word

" father "—those are the sacred attributes of a Russian monk. For a Metropolitan, which is the highest episcopal dignity, all these attributes are all the more indispensable. The trial of Metropolitan Benjamin took place in Moscow before a crowded auditory, and the accused appeared before his judges in civilian dress, torn and tattered, beardless, and his hair cut short. Such an exterior for a Russian dignitary was so startling, even after five long years of a Soviet *régime*, that nobody recognized the Metropolitan in the accused. " Are you citizen so-and-so ? " was the first question put to him. " No," he answered gravely, " I am Benjamin, Metropolitan of Petrograd." Only then did the crowd, more curious than hostile, realize what terrible humiliations this venerable man had endured before confronting his judges, and a murmur of indignation ran through the hall. The Metropolitan turned towards the public, and with a familiar and solemn gesture blessed the crowd, making with his two hands the sign of the cross in three directions. Everybody stood up, the sentinels took off their caps, and even the judges did not dare to remain sitting. But immediately an order was given to clear the hall, and the next day Metropolitan Benjamin was executed. One martyr more or less in the tragic history of the Soviet Government could not trouble the conscience of the Communistic leaders. But the very foundation of the Living Church was shaken.

The Russian is accustomed to changes taking place in the highest spheres of his Church : Metropolitans and Patriarchs were succeeded by the Holy Synod, after which we see the return of the Patriarch. Prayers offered for the Synod of the Living Church during liturgy do not trouble him much. But the least modification in Church-rites exasperates him. We have seen that there existed two types of priests in the Living Church : the " red " priests of 1917, and those who joined the new cult after the enquiry which followed the Patriarch's imprisonment. The first made bold essays to change the dogmas, rites, and their own political attitude : they said that the Orthodox Church remains immobile in its Byzantine traditions ; that the progress of humanity must have an influence over the forms of religion, and that the stability of dogmas and rites are killing the beauty of Christian doctrine. In these reforms the most daring turned back to Paganism, offering, for example, a prayer to the Sun. During the third period of the history of the Living Church the red priests do not reject the Orthodox *Credo*, but in rites and customs submit to the innovations, which can be characterized in a few words : under pretext of democracy the red priests and parishioners free themselves from all that inconveniences them. The Patriarch's authority is rejected for two reasons : (1) At the supreme moment of democratic triumph the absolute power of one man is proclaimed inadmissible. (2) The personality of Patriarch Tikhon, the Metropolitan of the Czar, cannot fit in with the ideas of a free people. In

power and generosity to accord full liberty of travel, assemblies and ceremonies, to all anti-revolutionary Church dignitaries who wished to assist at the burial of their Chief, the late Patriarch." But, three years before, the same Government had persecuted these same priests for the sole crime of celebrating a Mass. They were accused of "performing inexplicable ceremonies, accompanied by incomprehensible vociferations with the sole aim of enriching themselves at the cost of the ignorant and obscure masses." (The above clause, which had been forgotten for 75 years, was originally written by the legislators of the Imperial Government against wizards, who still practised at the beginning of the nineteenth century their regrettable profession in the depths of Russia.) If we compare these two different attitudes, we see that the explanation of the Soviet papers is not sincere. It did not depend solely on the "generosity and power of the Soviet Government," but on the strength of religion, which the Soviets could not destroy.

The Living Church at the present moment is an organization not worth even a decree of suppression, so powerless and small in numbers has it become. It is supported by the Soviet Government, either in order to keep in reserve a constitution which might be useful, or—which is more probable—in order to reward its partisans for their devotion. From a bureaucratic point of view we can now consider the Living Church as a survival of an administrative service, which continues to maintain several functionaries useful in the past, but of no use at the present moment.

To be entirely truthful, we must acknowledge that the clergy of the Living Church have involuntarily played the part of scouts or secret agents of the Orthodox Church. Without compromising the Patriarch, they came to an agreement with the Government, which was hostile to the Church; they cleansed and enlarged the ground of confessional security in the limits allowed to them by the Soviet Government. Disappearing, they gave up their place to the Orthodox Church, which has again resumed its loyal attitude towards the official authorities.

In the past history of Russia we can find two examples that may have been present in the mind of the Patriarch Tikhon at the time of his reconciliation with the Soviet Government.

In the thirteenth century Russia was invaded by Tartars. The Russian princes were obliged to present themselves at the headquarters of Genghis Khan, in order to pay the fixed ransom and to get permission to govern their provinces. Prince Michael of Tchernigof was the first to accomplish this mortifying pilgrimage. Stifling his feelings of self-esteem, he went through all that was prescribed by the Tartars. But, when ordered to kneel down before an idol, he firmly refused, saying that it was inadmissible for a Christian to perform Pagan rites. The Tartars had no intention of converting

the Prince to their religion, but demanded proofs of his respect for their religion. Still he refused. Then they tried to make him comply by force ; but the Prince resisted to the last, and died in tortures. Soon after this all his domains were devastated.

A few years later Prince Alexander of Novgorod, called Nevsky, after a brilliant victory on the banks of the Neva, was also obliged to pay homage before Genghis Khan. His position was pitiful : he was convinced that in falling down before an idol he was betraying Christianity and committing a sin, which God would never forgive, and he asked himself if it were not better to follow Prince Michael's example. But in that case he would not be the only one to suffer : all his subjects would have to share his fate—be ruined and tormented to death. Prince Alexander decided to sacrifice his soul to save the life of his subjects. He did all that the Tartars exacted. But his moral sufferings were such that at the age of 45 he turned suddenly white, and was so oppressed and crushed that he died on his journey back to Moscow.

These two Princes are canonized by the Orthodox Church. I do not intend saying that one becomes saint by the sole desire of a crowd of Christians, and I entirely recognise that a canonization is only an official confirmation of God's will, but I find that the deep veneration that Russians bestow upon these two Saints is very characteristic of the mentality of the nation. Both are martyrs. The one received the baptism of blood, while the other sacrificed his soul for his brethren, as it is said in the New Testament : " Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends " (St. John xv, 13).

Patriarch Tikhon could, without betraying his religion, either recognize or not recognize the political power of the Soviet Government. The consequences of his attitude, it must be owned, had more importance for the Church than for the State. His resistance would hardly have shaken the Government, but it would certainly have brought new trials upon the Church.

Chateaubriand has said, that no people have ever the right to complain of having a bad Government, for : " One has what one deserves." We must hope that Russia is after all worth something better. But the formula of the Epistle : " There is no power but of God," obliges us to see in our present state of misery a trial that we must endure to the bitter end, in order to be worthy of playing the great part that history reserves us.

The Patriarch was a monk, and his great age was a reminder to him that he might at any moment appear before his Supreme Judge. Consequently he could not be afraid of martyrdom. But he did not wish to bring trouble upon the Church and chose a part less brilliant, more modest and infinitely more useful to Orthodoxy. This part was that of a quiet and silent Chief who leads his flocks along the

path of resignation, sparing them useless struggles. We have enough martyrs. The faithful believers who remain at their post must guard the sacred fire in order to transmit it to the coming generations, which we must hope will see better days.

A VISIT TO THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.

By Robert Byron.

THE Phanar, as the Vatican of Eastern Christendom is called, the residence of His All-Holiness the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, "which is New Rome," lies at the water's edge some mile and a half up the Golden Horn, crowded about by the small wooden houses and precipitous narrow streets of Stamboul, and overhung by the huge red-brick Greek school, the guiding pole-star of all who explore on foot the labyrinths of the old Byzantine city. At the foot of a flight of steps stands a porter in his box. And if the day happens to be a festival of the New Republic, a Turkish flag, crescent and star on a bloody ground, waves derisively above his head. The visitor mounts to a kind of lych gate. Entrance, however, is effected by a wicket at the side. And it will be noticed from within that the larger gate is hung with a black canopy, and planted with a row of aspidistras. It was here, during the War of Independence, that the Patriarch Gregory was seized from the altar on Easter Day and hanged, to expiate the success of his compatriots in the Morea. But the sun shines in 1926. And a pebbled path leads to the door, amid beds of sunflowers and cannas, roses, heliotrope, and above all of basil, the sweet herb of Byzantium. To the left, beyond a flagged yard and two tall planes, stands the facade of a little church; while in the foreground rises the high face of an undistinguished whitewashed building, relieved by long rows of windows and wooden balconies. All round are mulberries, oleanders and other plane trees.

The Patriarch Basileios is an old man. His is a more literally Christian ideal than is ordinarily retained by the high dignitaries of a Church. A certain ineffectuality, people say, characterizes the administration of the Patriarchate at the present time. The charge may be true; but in the case of men who for a whole decade have lived in daily danger of assault, robbery and murder, exposed to every indignity to which a government-controlled mob can submit them, it is not one for which they are to be condemned unheard. A short review of the history of the last few years will, perhaps, reveal the difficulties encountered by those responsible for the main fountain of the life of the Orthodox Church, and the problems, un-

parallelled since the schism of Avignon, which have arisen in Constantinople and are in need of immediate solution.

Owing to the difficulties of election during the War, the Patriarchal function was discharged, until 1920, by a *locum-tenens*. In that year, Meletios Metaxarches, formerly Metropolitan of Athens and one of the foremost adherents of British influence in the Levant, was chosen—partly through the influence of the Amyna, a clique of exiled Veniselist officers—to assume the headship of Eastern Christendom. Whatever the irregularities of his election—if indeed they existed outside the vituperative imagination of the propagandist Roman Catholic press—the new Patriarch possessed a personality to which all shades of European opinion have payed tribute. I, myself, was honoured by him with an audience last summer in his villa at Kephissia near Athens. In the company of Dr. Wigram, the English Chaplain, I found myself before a huge black figure, whence issued words of greeting in a voice scarcely human in its range of octaves. Beneath the high cylindrical hat, coarse, silver hair, lately allowed to grow, on the announcement of his election to the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria—for at Constantinople Meletios had been a "modernist" and cut it—seemed to merge into a pair of enormous moustachios, from beneath which, like some immense sporran, a silver beard descended full to the limits of his jewelled pectoral cross. During our conversation, coffee and *glyko*, a morella cherry syrup, were handed round, accompanied by an orange liqueur, which brought tears to my eyes. I imagined this man in the years before Lausanne, when he had found himself spiritual, and to a large degree temporal, head of the Ottoman Greeks of Turkey during their hour of victory; and I pictured his demeanour, as I had heard it described, after their defeat.

Upon his election he had assumed, as was his right, the pendant double-headed eagle of diamonds—the *stavropegion*—significant of the temporal power of the Cæsars, vested by Mahommet the Conqueror in the Patriarch Scholarios after the fall of the City, and held by his successors ever since. 1919! the moment of greatest hope in the Hellenic world since the War of Independence. Would St. Sophia, would Constantinople, "*the* City" of all the Greeks, shake free of the Turk? Or should it be Smyrna? Meanwhile the unity of Christendom should be furthered by the recognition of the validity of the English Orders, and the *rapprochement* of the two Churches. Meanwhile also it was Smyrna. Hope deferred waned. The ghastly retreat from Afion Kara Hissar began. And on the 9th September, 1922, Giaour Ismir, infidel Smyrna, and her enormous and wealthy Christian population were given over to the Turkish incendiaries for extermination. The Archbishop Chrysostom, his safety pledged the

day before by the British Admiral Brock, was disembowelled in the presence of the barber that had torn his beard from his face. A brave man! for he could have escaped. Such also was Meletios. And the fury of the regenerated Turk surged now day by day round the gate of the Phanar, in its narrow tree-shaded street, and often in its courtyard itself.

About this time a Turkish journalist who had declared himself pro-British, was decoyed into a car, shipped to Asia Minor and hacked to pieces with axes by the populace. What better fate, it was thought, could be devised for the Œcumenical Patriarch? Everything was arranged. A mob of *Lasés*, renegade Maltese, the scum of the city, accompanied by a limousine, appeared at the famous gate. The Patriarch was on the third floor. His room was burst open, he was seized, and dragged down the stairs. He pictured, probably, the sharpening of steel on the Asia Minor shore. The stairs were many! They were twisty. Meletios, a giant, a Sampson venerable only in appearance, clung to each banister, fought, kicked and struggled to a degree which so exhausted his kidnappers that on the second landing they must needs rest for breath. The delay saved the Patriarch's life. Constantinidis, the chief dragaman, was telephoning for the allied police. They arrived as the struggling mass was half-way down the last flight of stairs.

After this it was impossible for Meletios to stay. At the same time he refused to go. The danger to his flock if he refused at last made him consent. To get him safe past the Turkish mob out of the city required an armed force. There was a bit of a battle in London before the order for that was given. After days of dangerous delay it came. He passed; and as the towering head of Eastern Christendom strode down the cobbled street to the wharf by the water's edge, the crowd fell on its knees to receive his blessing. He retired to Mount Athos, resigning the Patriarchate some months later. Then followed the Treaty of Lausanne, the culmination of Turkish bluff.

Lord Curzon was unable to do more than insist that the Patriarchate should remain in the city of its origin. The temporal power of the Cæsars was resigned; and the Holy Synod issued an encyclical to that effect. Meanwhile the Phanar was exposed to constant outrages. A movement had been set on foot to start a Turkish National Christian Church. To lead it a renegade priest, Papa Ephtim, was found. Not content with seizing churches and holy wells, he, with his band of *Lasés* made a second assault upon the Patriarchate, interrupting a meeting of the Synod, and was, by his display of violence, largely responsible for the voluntary resignation of the Temporal Power. This was followed, in 1924, by the forcible expulsion of Meletios' successor, on the ground that he was an exchangeable Greek. He was transported by train early one morn-

ing to the frontier and there left stranded without food or money. Thus, all things considered, it is not perhaps surprising that the dignitaries of the Phanar should momentarily have found it advisable to elect an "ineffectual" Patriarch—to cast, in fact, a temporary veil of "ineffectuality" over the Phanar and all its doings.

There is, however, one problem which remains acute. With the practical extinction of Russian ecclesiastical prestige, the Œcumenical Patriarchate has reassumed in the eyes of the world, and especially of the Balkan peoples, the position of the highest authority in the Orthodox Church. More than that, the opportunity is come for the formation of a closer and more binding unity among the Orthodox Churches. But with the paralysation of Christian activity in Constantinople nothing can be done. There is no one to take the lead. The question uppermost in every man's mind is: Should the Patriarch and his *entourage* betake themselves elsewhere?

As defined on paper, the Œcumenical Patriarchate possesses a primary honour among the equally independent Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Russia. Such is the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury with regard to the Australian, Canadian, and other Anglican Churches. The status is not one of authority, but of initiative. The initiative emanates from Canterbury, the seat of the foundation of the Anglican Church. So is it with the Patriarch. Remove him from his diocese and he becomes merely an intruder into the independent jurisdiction of another Bishop or Patriarch.* Yet, as things stand at present, the position is intolerable. During the last two years negotiations were in progress toward the summons of an Œcumenical Council, attended by representatives of all the Orthodox Churches and also accredited agents of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Such a Council, the first of its kind since the last Œcumenical Council in 787, would have meant a long step forward towards the Unity of Christendom which is now becoming the hope and ideal of every enlightened churchman. But no—the Turks, incited, as I personally believe, by agents of the Vatican, announced that if the Patriarch left Constantinople he would not be allowed to return. A Council without him was unthinkable, and the project was therefore dropped.

There are also more material reasons for departure. The Patriarch and his officials live in perpetual danger. They are kept too poor to maintain the dignity of the meanest bishops of the Church. And they are exposed all the while to the officially prompted insults of Papa Ephtim. He was "selling up" a church

* Greek Metropolitans or Bishops also enjoy almost complete independence.

in Galata during my visit, and thinking that not only would I like to see this sinister figure, but also, if the fittings of the church really were being sold, to buy some of them myself, I persuaded an Armenian Jew to lead me to him. We reached the church; and a short man in a chestnut beard, his face wreathed in smiles, greeted us. The smiles remained. Yes, everything was to go, eikonostasis, pulpit, ambo, throne, lanterns, and he had stuffs and manuscripts in the bank. He walked with a bounce—the smiles multiplied—a charming personality in every respect, except that his prices were too high! On the way back, the dealer said to me: "When we've finished with that church, we are planning to make a descent on the Patriarchate and carry off *their* treasures!"

In view of all these difficulties and dangers, the one real solution would seem to lie in the removal of the Patriarchate to Mount Athos. The Holy Mountain is within the Patriarchal diocese. It is impregnable in so far as its independent being is guaranteed by international treaty. And it is the only remaining fortress of the old Byzantine life, the Joyous Life that once flourished along the wooded banks of the Bosphorus, the most delectable existence that the world has ever known. Yet disadvantages are apparent. Athos is inaccessible. There are no roads on the peninsula nor to it. To make it an active centre of the Orthodox Christianity would be straining an almost impossible point. Further, the monks themselves would be the last to welcome the invasion of a higher authority other than their own, and the Œcumenical Patriarch is their theoretical head. Also there is no doubt that the Athonite peninsula is so identified with Hellenic nationalism that an Œcumenical Patriarch resident in it would lose his prestige in other Orthodox countries. All said and done, Constantinople is a capital—a City—and will remain so. It has the atmosphere of a capital—which no other Balkan town possesses. It has schools and colleges for the Greeks. It is one of the great trading centres of the world. If Kemal is drinking as they say he drinks, the present régime in Turkey is only temporary. So also, let us hope, is the momentary depression of Constantinople as "the City" of all the Greeks.

MY VISIT TO THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX ACADEMY AT PARIS.

The following account of a visit to the Russian Academy in Paris was written by Professor Korenchevsky as a Report to the Committee of the Russian Clergy Appeal at their request.

I SPENT four days, from December 31st to January 3rd, in Paris in order to become acquainted with the organization, work and life of the Academy. Except Sunday, these days were ordinary business days. I spoke with several of the professors and students; I attended the daily lectures, meals, recreations and Church services of the Academy, and I have seen all the buildings and rooms. The following paragraphs summarize my impressions:—

1. *Lectures and Courses.* All the lectures began and ended punctually at the clock signal. The students give the greatest attention to the lectures, for, besides their interest in the subject, they need to make accurate notes in order to study for their examinations, since, in most cases, owing to the lack of textbooks (which are very expensive and usually impossible to obtain outside Russia) they have no other source of information.

The great concentration of the students at the lectures on the Divine subjects creates a spiritual atmosphere, which I felt profoundly, and which converts some of the lectures into prayers without words.

All the courses which have to be taught according to the original plan communicated to the Appeal were carried out without exception.

2. *Staff of Lecturers.*—The lecturers are quite satisfactory and qualified. The professors living in the Academy live in the simplest conditions, practically in monastic cells. As happens in all the Universities, there are lecturers who are very dear and near to the students, and others who are less gifted as lecturers and educationalists. As the result of my talks with students, without mentioning any names, the most popular lecturers number nine, while six are less popular. Certainly this does not mean that they are unsatisfactory teachers.

The Academy is organized in exile by *émigrés*, and while some lecturers could be replaced, in Russia, by others more experienced and possesing higher scientific degrees, nearly all the available lecturers among the Russian *émigrés* were incorporated into the Academic Staff. Of the desirable candidates invited to form the Academy Staff, only those were omitted who demanded too large a salary for the financial resources of the Academy or were unable to join the Academy for other personal reasons. These large salaries were asked in order to support large families. When the finances

of the Academy improve, three or four lecturers, Professor Gloubokovsky, Professor Troitzky, and others, who are both important and necessary for the work, will be invited to join the staff.

The most popular and beloved professor amongst the students of the Academy is Father Sergius Boulgakoff. When attending his lectures the students forget both time and fatigue, the latter sometimes being very great, since the work is very strenuous.

3. *Students.*—Before coming to the Academy most of the students experienced a very hard life of poverty, hunger and danger of execution by the Bolsheviks. Many of them lost their parents in the most tragic circumstances during the Revolution and time of exile. Therefore, a great number of the students entered the Academy in a state of physical exhaustion. Roughly, about seventy five per cent. of the students were attracted to the Academy by an ardent desire to ascend as far as lay in their power all the steps of Orthodoxy. I saw myself some ascetics among them, and I do not doubt that the life of several of them will give new examples to the Russian people of the Orthodox achievement in their priestly or monastic service. I remember one student of ascetic appearance reading the life of the Saints during the meals; several of us were unable to resist the charm of his voice, full of deep devotion, and therefore paid less attention to the food. Several of them were very poorly dressed, since the Academy is unable to provide them with clothes.

How high is the moral and ascetic standard of some of them will be seen from the following incident. I called on one of the married students living with his wife and child in a very small room outside the Academy. Except for a bed, a table and one chair, the furniture was made out of old boxes. Many ikons with lighted sanctuary lamp were in the east corner of the room, and everything was very clean. They lived in great poverty, and therefore I specially wished to visit them. After a long talk with the student, who belonged to the best type of the Academy, I wanted to offer him a couple of hundred francs. With warm thanks and a gentle smile he emphatically refused to accept them, with the words, "I cannot accept money which I have not earned." I was told that friendly help to several students of that type in the Academy is practically impossible.

Many of them spend their recreation time in the Church of the Academy assisting at the services. Father Sergius told me that only once did he succeed in coming first into the Church for morning service (7 a.m.), on which occasion he did so intentionally. I should say that this good type of theological student prevailing in the Academy gives to the Academy a special spiritual atmosphere.

Of the remaining twenty-five per cent. of the students it is necessary to say that many of them are more or less satisfactory, but more of the University type than of the semi-monastic Theological

Academy. Their spiritual development has only just started. Comparatively few are of doubtful use to the Academy, but the Orthodox spirit of our Orthodox schools prohibits their expulsion from the Academy before being absolutely convinced of their uselessness.

In any case the severe and semi-monastic character of the life of the Academy seems to be troublesome only to some of the students of the latter group.

4. *The Government and Some Points in the Organization of the Academy.*—Weekly conferences of the professors of the Academy are held, at which the whole plan of education and teaching is organized, discussed and criticized in the light of each week of experience. Bishop Benjamin carries this out, being elected as the Inspector of the Academy, supported by Professor Besobrasoff and Mr. Kisselevsky. In addition, each individual case concerning any incidents in the life or scientific progress of students is discussed at these conferences.

Taking into consideration the semi-monastic Orthodox character of the life and education in the Academy, the government and organization of the Academy seems to be satisfactory. It is very essential that the budget of the Academy be increased, that it may be possible for such important and desirable lecturers as Professors Globukovsky and Troitzky and some others to join the staff.

Undoubtedly the hygienic conditions could be improved, but at the present time this is impossible owing to lack of finances. The following points should be taken into consideration for the desirable improvement in the hygienic conditions of the Academy :—

(*a*) Each student should be provided with the usual black priest under-vestment (podriasnik). The students themselves, of both groups, are very willing to wear this vestment in the Academy.

(*b*) Regular gymnastics in the open air under the inspection of a trained physician should be introduced for those students who are not too advanced in their ascetic training.

(*c*) The students seem to be too crowded ; more room for bedrooms is necessary.

(*d*) In the large bedrooms a space surrounding the bed of each student should be converted into a cell by means of sheets of linen, thus giving more opportunity to the student for rest, quiet work, concentration and prayer.

(*e*) The lavatories should be improved and heated.

5. *Summary.*—Summarizing my impressions of the scientific organization, life, staff and students of the Academy, I feel justified in saying that considering the poor financial resources and the conditions of exile the Theological Academy is organized and conducted in a quite satisfactory manner. It will give to the Russian people and

the Russian Church several priests, deacons and monks of high standard and true Orthodox tradition. Some divergence in the opinion of both groups of students about the spiritual guidance of the Academy as to a more monastic or civil character of its organization is natural, and is controlled by the professional staff under the Metropolitan Eulogius, in accordance with the best traditions of our Orthodox Academies. With improvement of the finances some improvement in organization and life will be executed.

The Academy is really a sanctuary lamp which your help as well has lighted. God bless you for that brotherly Christian deed!

(Signed) V. KORENCHEVSKY

The Lister Institute, London,
7th January, 1927.

THE GREAT SCHISM IN THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND THE PROTOPOPE AVVAKUM—NON-CONFORMIST AND MARTYR.

BY SONIA E. HOWE.

III

Three years were spent on the return journey. He arrived in the Capital in the spring of 1664 and received a hearty welcome. Even Alexei Mikhailovitch was pleased to see him again, for the "gentle and most pious Tsar" not only respected Avvakum for the strength of his convictions, but was genuinely attached to him—a state of mind difficult to reconcile with the fact that it was by his orders that his friend had been banished. Avvakum, for his part, seems to have been naturally drawn to Alexei, for, *intransigeant* as he was with others, he always gave the Tsar the benefit of the doubt, hoping to the end that he would finally succeed in bringing him to his way of thinking.

Strangely enough, although Nikon had been deprived of all authority, his revisions and reforms were accepted by the Council and incorporated finally into the Church. Thus, although this bitter antagonist had been rendered innocuous, Avvakum was still in danger on account of the general attitude of the Church. For the moment, however, all seemed to promise well for the returned exile. Received with every honour, he was lodged in the Hostel of the Novo Dievitchie Monastery within the walls of the Kremlin. The Tsar frequently showed him signs of favour, always asking for his blessing when State affairs called him outside the Kremlin.

Avvakum took advantage of the opportunity afforded him of presenting a petition to the Tsar, in which he urged him to cleanse the Church of all false doctrines.

For six months Avvakum lived in peace and quiet. Hopefully looking forward to the longed-for return to the "Old Way," this faithful shepherd carried on his pastoral work. Besides giving personal comfort and encouragement to the members of his flock in Moscow, he wrote numerous letters, sermons and polemical treatises.

After some time he again petitioned the Tsar to return to the Old Belief, but without success. Now the Ecclesiastical Authorities, especially the New Patriarch, began to complain of the zealous priest's activities, whereby, they affirmed, he was leading the masses astray. The Tsar, however, still trusting that in time he would come to terms with the Nikonians, merely sent a reprimand to Avvakum who, for his part, clung tenaciously to the hope that he would eventually win the Tsar to his way of thinking—a strange similarity of optimism in two such opposite natures. His repeated petitions to the Tsar and attacks on opponents naturally led to renewed persecution, and in the year 1669, half a year only after his return to Moscow, he was once more sent into banishment—this time to the prison of Pustosersk, situated not far from the shores of the Kara Sea. When he heard that this was to be his destination, the heart of the brave man failed—for his beloved family's sake he dreaded a repetition of the hardships suffered during the first exile. It was the husband and father in him which prompted him to write and ask the Tsar for a mitigation of his hard sentence, at least to the extent of allowing him to remain in Kholmogori, or some other less distant town. "I fear my children will die of cold on the journey . . . during my first exile two of my sons succumbed to the hardships they had to endure." He describes all the horrors of frost and blizzard, and begs for mercy—the only time he ever did such a thing.

The reply to this appeal was far from satisfactory. All he gained was that he was sent to Mezen instead of Pustosersk. His courage, which faltered but for a moment, quickly revived—once again he became the strong and resolute leader, accusing his opponents and encouraging his followers with winged words which flew to the utmost bounds of the Empire.

Some two years later he was carried back to Moscow, to be brought before the Church Council which had been called to settle the disputes before Nikon and the Tsar, and between the Reformers and the Old Believers. The members of the Council, realizing his power over the hearts and minds of the people, did their utmost to win Avvakum over to their side, but the strength of his convictions and his temperament made compromise impossible. Although

fully aware of what it would cost him, he never swerved for an instant from the position he had taken up. Therefore, because he "did not submit, but in all things withstood" the Council which he even stigmatized as "unorthodox," he was unfrocked and excommunicated.

Fearing the opposition of the people, the Authorities ordered the accused to be taken in the dead of night under a strong guard to a monastery, where he was kept a prisoner during the sitting of the Council. Prison walls failed to form a barrier between the people and their beloved leader, for they came in crowds to the monastery as pilgrims to pray at its sacred shrine. The Tsar himself visited his place of confinement, but, lacking the moral courage to enter his old friend's cell, merely paced up and down in front of his window, another illustration of the inconsistent waverings of the Tsar. By his order Nikon is banished, yet he weeps and bemoans his absence; his command puts Avvakum under lock and key, yet he asks for a blessing from the prisoner. He protects many Old Believers from the violence of the Ecclesiastical Authorities, and yet he allows a woman like the Boyarinya Morozov to be condemned and tortured and then finally himself sends her into exile.

Avvakum still proving a menace, for even his guards the Streltsi favoured him and his teaching, it was judged imperative to put him out of reach of his friends and sympathizers. Consequently he was sent to the Borovsk Monastery, the abbot of which was commanded to "put him into prison and keep him there securely so that he should not escape from the Monastery nor cause any further mischief; neither was he to be given either ink or paper, nor was anyone to be admitted to him." Once more the efforts of the Authorities were frustrated, for there were here, as elsewhere, sympathizers within the building who admitted those from without who came to seek instruction and advice.

More than one attempt was made to win him over by means of promises and threats. To the latter the brave protopope always replied: "Think not that the fear of death will move me, for it is not physical but spiritual death I dread." When the last hope of gaining his adherence was gone, the Council demanded that, as his chastisement by the Church had proved so inadequate, the secular power should now be permitted to inflict punishment upon the recalcitrant cleric. The Tsar was reluctant to give his consent to this and therefore, although they cut out the tongues of two of his fellow believers, Avvakum himself remained untouched. He and his poor tortured friends, however, were sent off at once to the far-distant Pustosersk.

With characteristic inconsistency Alexei Mikhailovitch sent the following message to the man whom he had deprived of liberty:

"Wherever thou mayest find thyself, cease not to remember us in thy prayers." This Avvakum did, even in his dungeon, or "living tomb," as he called it, remembering his former friend.

He wrote repeatedly to the Tsar. For many years he had clung to the belief that the Tsar's actions were due to the "innocency of his soul" which had made him a tool in stronger hands; therefore he had always hitherto pleaded with him tenderly, for Alexei's weakness and sin were a sore grief to him. At this point, however, he began to upbraid him more severely, accusing him of bringing his temporal power to bear upon spiritual matters—for it was now that the conviction grew upon Avvakum that the cause of the evil—of the ever-increasing persecution—was the interference of secular powers with matters spiritual. He demanded the separation of Church and State and boldly queried: "Who gave the Tsar the right to govern the Church, and by what authority does he presume to alter her dogmas?" Having thus reproved Alexei Mikhailovitch for his undue assumption of power, he warns him of the judgment to come, saying, among other things, "Thou hast been ruling many years and I have been suffering many years, but the same eternal Home awaits us both, if God so will."

In spite of all he had been through, Avvakum never really lost his old feeling of friendship for the Tsar; he still loved him and forgave him all personal injury. "Although thou hast commanded me to be flung to the dogs," he affirmed, "yet with my latest breath will I call down blessings upon thy head." His last letter to the Tsar, however, concludes with these words of bitter disappointment: "I perceive that thou art past healing." This letter, smuggled out of Pustosersk despite the fact that Avvakum was permitted neither to see anyone nor to write, in some mysterious way reached Moscow and the Tsar. It seemed as though bars and locks did not exist for Avvakum. The very guards themselves assisted in the transmission of his epistles. In Pustosersk it was the same as elsewhere; even his guards loved him, looking after him with tender care. Avvakum's time was not merely taken up with prayer; although kept in close confinement, he managed to carry on his literary labours and thus strengthen his scattered disciples, many of whom were in prison or exile. As he could procure no paper, this Apostle in chains wrote his epistles on little pieces of rag; these letters were carefully copied by his friends and then carried at great personal risk from prison to prison.

Avvakum wrote prolifically during his years in Pustosersk, but the following are the only works which have been preserved to our own days: His Autobiography (1673), Expositions of many Psalms, Nine Treatises of a dogmatic and polemic character and forty-three Epistles to different individuals. For this period his writing was unique; it was simple and direct, coming straight from his loving

heart and keen brain, so that even the humblest could understand the message.

Avvakum was well-informed in Muscovite theology and, thanks to his excellent memory, he knew the whole Psalter by heart as well as many other passages from the Old and New Testaments. He made good use of this store of knowledge and quoted freely from the Scriptures both in support of his own convictions and in confutation of the theories of his opponent. On this account his expository and polemical treatise bore the stamp of truth to the believing but ignorant masses, and thus his written word was the means of carrying the schism through the length and breadth of the Empire. Although intimately acquainted with all the ecclesiastical literature of his day, he was woefully ignorant of history and geography, but his readers knew even less than he did. His writings, which were full of bold analogies, owed their power chiefly to the clear, picturesque manner in which he expressed himself. His style was not stilted like that of contemporary writers, but simple and vivid as though he were speaking. The little cell in the extreme north-east became the centre of a great national movement.

The Authorities in Moscow were furious at this and by their orders three of Avvakum's fellow prisoners had their hands cut off, and he himself was flung into a small dungeon and fed only upon bread and water. Here he was desperately unhappy, not on account of the wretchedness of his own condition, but because several of his friends and fellow-prisoners, who had also been banished for their faith, had been mutilated, while he had not been touched. He earnestly pleaded to be subjected to like treatment, and when that was refused, he decided as a protest to abstain from all food. His friends dissuaded him from this action and, although he acceded to their wishes in the matter of food, he inflicted other hardships upon himself, such as refusing to wear warm clothes in winter.

Even this living tomb failed to silence the voice of the brave old warrior for the faith.

Years passed and the Empire underwent many changes, but political events left the lonely prisoner untouched. At last news reached Avvakum of the death of the Tsar, Alexei Mikhailovitch, in 1676.

The old man, weakened by long years of suffering, made one more effort and wrote a petition to the new Tsar; but the only reply elicited by this somewhat incoherent epistle (which began in all humility but went on to speak of the late Tsar as being in torment) was a stern command from the Tsar to burn Avvakum and his comrades at the stake for the terrible blasphemy against the Imperial House.

A generation had arisen that knew not Joseph, and no personal

link existed between the new Tsar and the man who had been his father's friend. To Feodor Alexeivitch, who was a pupil of the Kievite monks, and who had been brought up in the new school of thought, the attitude of the Old Believers was absolutely incomprehensible, and the slight cast upon his father's memory by the old excommunicated priest only aggravated his offence in the eyes of his sovereign. So on April 1st, 1681, the sentence was carried out, and the noble life which had been spent in combat and suffering came to an end amidst the flames of the burning faggots. A tradition, kept sacred among the Old Believers, thus describes the last act of the martyrdom of Avvakum: "The people gathered around and all the men uncovered their heads . . . the faggots were lighted . . . all grew silent. Avvakum crossing himself with two fingers exhorted the crowd to do likewise, saying: 'As long as you make this sign of the cross when you pray you will never perish, but if you leave it off, your town will be destroyed . . .' The fire laid hold of the victims and one of them cried out in his agony. Avvakum bent towards his fellow martyr and bade him be of good courage . . . so they perished."

The fire kindled by Avvakum's teaching burnt all the brighter after his death and the number of Old Believers increased rapidly, for it was in this instance as it has ever been, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." However mistaken Avvakum may have been in his views, however fanatically he may have upheld the old against the new, his undaunted courage and the strength of conviction which he displayed under such adverse circumstances, make him a worthy prototype of the multitudes of Russians who since his time, for the sake of an idea, have counted not their lives dear unto themselves.

A. AND E.C.A. NOTES.

IN January the General Secretary and the Rev. C. B. Moss spent a fortnight in Ireland, where Mr. Moss had arranged a full programme of meetings in support of the work of the Association. The Archbishop of Dublin (Patron of the Association) presided at an excellently well-attended public meeting in Dublin, the Dean of Christ Church, the Regius Professor of Divinity in Dublin University, the Archdeacon of Dublin, and others, supporting him on the platform.

In the morning of Sunday, Jan. 16th, the General Secretary preached at St. Patrick's Cathedral, and subsequently both he and Mr. Moss found their time very fully occupied in Dublin, Belfast, Rostrevor, and elsewhere, preaching at St. Bartholomew's and St. John's, Dublin, addressing branches of the Guild of St. Patrick,

gatherings of the Junior Clergy Missionary Association, and speaking at drawing-room meetings. The two Anglican Convents in Dublin, and Trinity College, were also visited.

Everywhere great interest in the work of the A. and E.C.A. was displayed, and a number of new members and subscribers to the *Christian East* were secured.

* * * *

The Bishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Cachel have become Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association, thus increasing to four the number of Irish Bishops who belong to A. and E.C.A. The Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Ossory joined last year.

* * * *

Some subscribers to the *Christian East* treasure all their back numbers; others, having read them, very kindly send them on to friends; others again, we gather, would gladly forward back issues if they knew where they were most needed. The General Secretary (34, Richmond Road, S.W.5) is always glad to receive unwanted back numbers, and especially Vol. I, No. 1; Vol. IV, No. 1; Vol. V, No. 3; and Vol. VII, No. 2., which are out of print, and copies of which are frequently being asked for by those who wish to complete their sets.

* * * *

The date of the Anniversary this year is fixed for Wednesday, October 12th. It is hoped that last year's successful experiment may be repeated, and a stall provided for the sale of Ikons and other articles of interest from Orthodox lands. Last year the Ikons were eagerly bought up by the first few purchasers, so an endeavour will be made to provide a larger supply this time. Will travellers to the Holy Land and other Orthodox countries this summer please remember how gladly simple contributions for the sale will be welcomed?

* * * *

In response to a suggestion frequently put forward by some of its members, the Association has adopted a Badge. It is to consist of a reproduction in metal and enamel of the central portion of the Ikon of A. and E.C.A. The die is at present being made, and in due course a full description of the Badge, and information about how it may be purchased, will be sent to all members of the Association.

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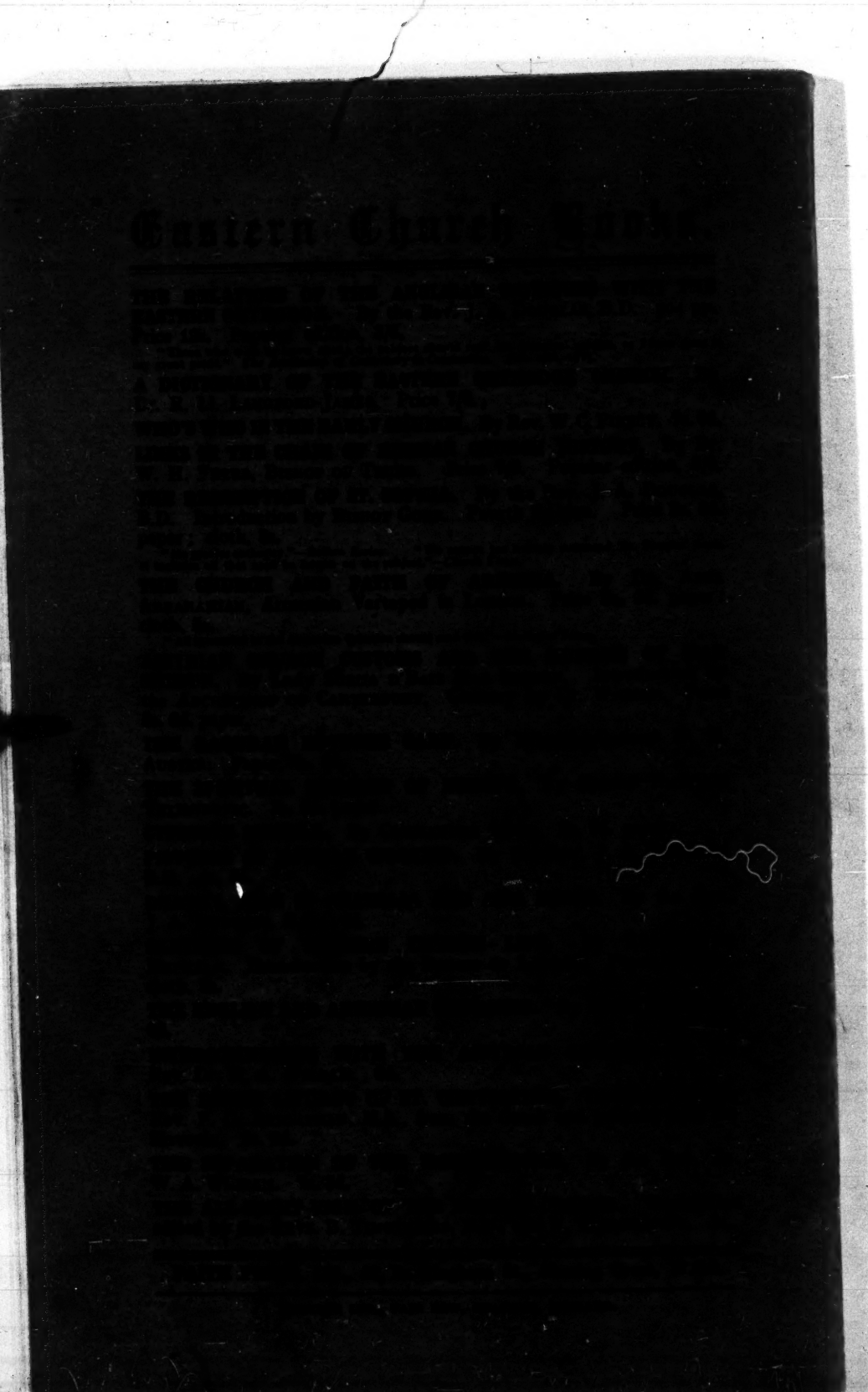

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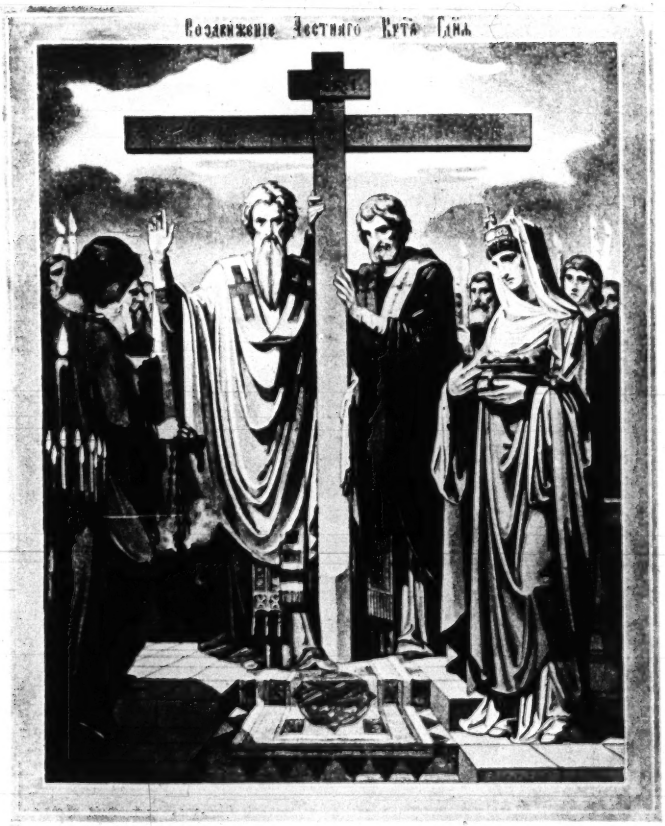

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